4: Up de Graff--238-240 (1897) 1923 Jivaro-1
116, 427, 484

"On the sand-spit at the junction of the Santiago and the Marañon lay some two hundred Antipa canoes, heavily laden with fruit, vegetables, honey and giamanchi in enormous quantities. They were drawn up in a great uneven fringe for a distance of a full quarter of a mile all around the edge of the tongue which juts out between the two rivers, and scattered all over the miniature peninsular were hundreds of savages, men,women, and children--three or four to every canoe--squatting in groups of families, some gossiping, some cooking, others speaking excitedly of war, others polishing their spears with sand, and yet others already partaking of their evening meal. The slanting rays of the sun tinted the whole scene with a purplish light, and threw into restful harmony the naturally crude colouring of forest, river, sand and savage. No cloud obscured the deep blue dome of the evening sky. The three long wailing notes of the yungaruru floated across the water, and the screams of the first flock of parrots rose high above the hum of human chatter as they skimmed over the trees on their return home from the days' foraging.

As we toiled up the stretch of bad water that lies between the gate of the cañon and the junction of the rivers, the scene gradually unfolded itself before our astonished eyes. What a change was this from the deadly [239] emptiness of the landscape when Game and I first paddled by the long desolate first reach of the Santiago, straining our eyes for the sight of any living thing!

To say we were taken by surprise is to understate the case. We were amazed at the

rapidity with which the fame of our expedition had spread amongst the savages. Apparently a good proportion of the whole tribe of Antipas had ventured well outside the radius of their home territory--a rare display of boldness--in search of those confounded presents of ours. There they were, sitting patiently waiting for hand-mirrors and striped shirts, with tons of fruit, vegetables, and other products of the rivers and woods. The full capacity of our fleet of four canoes was five tons at the most, and we were already heavily laden. Despite this, we found it wholly impossible to convince these adventurous merchants of the impracticability of their suggestion that we should take possession of all they had to offer in exchange for the coveted trade-goods. That evening we spent weary hours in trying to drive this obvious truth home to them, without any success attending our efforts. We transacted what business we must, and when we had bought more peanuts and honey than we could possibly want, we decided to sleep on the matter.

Next morning we were forced with the necessity of getting rid of that great concourse of Jívaros and, more important, seeing them go off in a contented frame of mind. We decided eventually to go the round of the whole beach, and present the crew of each canoe--generally a man with a couple of women and a child or two--with something to keep them quiet. I may mention that we had made the whole party leave the tip of the tongue of sand to us, where we pitched our little linen tent in a strategic position; on three sides water, which nothing could cross alive unless we wished it so, [240] and on the fourth

the flat open sand-bar with no protection whatever for lurking bodies.

The plan which we adopted was successful up to a point; the savages were certainly well satisfied to receive their presents, and to obtain a close view of the far-famed apaches, whose arrival had caused such a stir in the country; but all the good which had been done was threatened with instant reverse by our refusal to 'trade in' their tons of supplies for which we had no use nor space for carrying along in our four dugouts; so acceptance was the only possible course to follow. The beach became littered with the finest produce of the country."

4: Up de Graff--240-241 (1897) 1923 Jivaro-1 "
116, 484, 427

"Then came the stiffer problem, the ultimate object of all our manoeuvering up to this time; viz., to organize a fleet of canoes and canoemen not only to move our cargo and outfit up the Santiago but to accompany us as a guard against attack and as a war party in any possible conflict with the Huambizas. These Antipas were bitter enemies of the Huambizas and therefore we figured they would admirably suit our purpose. For many days we had been working up to this climax, endeavouring to convince old Pitacunca that it would be worth his while to give us thirty days' paddling in exchange for his choice of an axe or machete, with the same terms for every one of his men. No other bait had been tempting enough, as we had known only too well would be the case. Bit by bit we had led them on, until at last we had made our final offer, and before their bulging eyes we opened a box of axes and a case of machetes. The sight of the glistening steel and the bright red paint on the handles struck home to their very souls (if they had any), and I could see that they decided then and there to possess themselves of these treasures by fair means or foul. They knew, and we knew, that they had no [241] intention whatever of fulfilling their contract, despite the solemnity with which the terms were propounded and agreed to. Jack remarked at the time, I remember, that it was a moot point as to which party thought the other bigger fools. But we had our own ideas as to the enforcing of the contract. There was no doubt about it that if we wished to retain the services of the Indians we should have to be eternally vigilant and diplomatic. By day they could never give us the slip, clearly, armed as we were with Winchesters. The canoemen

would be divided between the several craft and escape would be out of the question. By night we should chain the canoes together, and always keep a guard mounted. By land they would never dare to face the risks of encountering a Huambiza war party. And so it turned out, with the exception that we allowed Pitacunca to take the Exploradora with three other Antipas, keeping them always within rifle-shot, in any event, they would not cut and run without their comrades and even if they did they could never paddle so heavy a craft away from us who manned the light twenty-four footers. In short, they were a slippery crew to deal with, and we couldn't be too careful."

4: Up de Graff--241-243 (1897) 1923 Jivaro-1
116, 484, 427, 152

"Meanwhile, the bulk of the gathering of Antipas had melted away, leaving only the wise minority, who saw something in the shape of a big haul coming when we turned the bows of our dugouts up the Santiago. Clearly we should leave behind us nine-tenths of our purchases, and the harvest would be rich for those who were there to gather it. (Old 'Pete' had probably warned them to be ready at midnight on our first night out.) Perhaps the bulk of the remainder watched us from the seclusion of the woods as we pushed off, as they hoped, in all innocence.

'Sept. 29th. Having finally satisfied the Antipas, by [242] means of our presents, that we are friendly disposed toward them, and closed the deal with the crew by handing them out their axes, we are due to start at mid-day to-day. 'Pete' and his men are obviously well satisfied with the business they have done. It is quite clear that they contemplate leaving us to-night with much relish.'

About five o'clock that evening we sighted a sand-bar for the first time since entering the Santiago...

That night it fell to Pedro to mount guard from sun-down till midnight. Long ago we had given our time-pieces away to the Antipas up the Maranon, for they were useless impediments. By the time each man of us had jumped overboard half a dozen times to save a paddle, a war-bag, or Ambusha, they were not much use except as presents. In the last-named capacity they were handed out to 'Lázaro,' Pitacunca, and one or two other important gentlemen. The original recipients kept the cases, which they hung

around their necks, and distributed the wheels to their less favoured fellows.

During that watch of his Pedro had no peace. Every few minutes the siege would be renewed. With smiling faces our friends would beg for a canoe to cross the river for one of a hundred purposes, urging reasons which were apparently so pressing as not to allow of even waiting till dawn. They had heard a troupe of night monkeys on the other bank; they had spotted a fine log for the fire five hundred yards down-stream (always down-stream!); they thought it would be a good idea to have some fish for breakfast; they were sure that the turtles would be out on the other end of the sand-spit, and they could approach noiselessly in a canoe...[243] and so on, until Pedro called me up in despair. I kept them quiet with a long story about the dangers of going off alone in the dark, with the possibility of a Huambisa surprise at any moment. I treated them in the only way possible, like children, meeting them on their own ground. Neither I nor Pitacunca believed our own words, much less those of the other. But the game of bluff had to be played out, like any other game, and the hardest bluffer won. So passed the first of a series of such nights, always the same farce had to be staged, endless machinations met by endless argument. At length, after four or five nights had passed in this fashion without any success being attained, it dawned on the Indians that other tactics must be adopted if they were (in the language of sport) to make a get-away. They began to fall sick, and with remarkable ingenuity discovered that the waters of the Santiago brought on all manner of ills, from loss of appetite, by way of general debility, to heart-failure.

4: Up de Graff--241-243 (1897) 1923 Jivaro-3
116, 484, 427, 152

Still we persisted, keeping them at the paddles after the fashion of galley-slave drivers. They were by this time a miserable, dejected crowd, keeping any way on the canoes, complaining of their ills, and bemoaning the certain death that awaited them if they continued."

4: Up de Graff--247-248 (1897) 1923 Jivaro-1
116, 484, 153, 427

"To return to my tale, then, the canoemen had to go. But we were determined that they should not carry off with them the wage which they had done so little (and that little so very unwillingly) to earn. It would be a bad precedent to set, for, if ever we had occasion to need their services or those of any other of their tribe again, we should start at a disadvantage if they thought they could fool us, as they certainly did, despite our precautions.

We made them build us a shack that evening on the island, and next morning a permanent shelter on the mainland, in which to cache part of our stores against our return, being unable to paddle so great a weight up-stream without their help. They all worked hard and with a good will, for freedom would be theirs within a few hours. Then we broke the news to them that they must return their axes and machetes, having failed to keep their contract. After the usual pow-pow they were handed over. It was not so peaceable a transaction as it might have been, for we had to hold them up with our rifles before we could make them give up our property. And then they went. [248]

It was not till they had been gone two hours or more that we had the idea of opening our cases of stores to see that all was in order. Half the axes and machetes and three-quarters of the poison had gone. Now the boxes and cases in which they were carried were purposely fastened with long screws, the secret of which we had not thought that any savage would discover. But, too late, it dawned on us that I myself had been indiscreet enough to open a box one day when that old thief Pitacunca was looking on. So, day by

18: Hermessen--440 (No date) 1917 Jivaro
116, 427

"Shortly after our arrival a number of Jíbaros of both sexes issued in single file from a cane-field bordering the river and approached the house. They had been employed in various agricultural tasks about the place and were coming for their daily pay, which they took in goods, money being unknown to them."